Puberty

[841] 881 Menstruation was called paiya'h:n (pai'ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

●764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

764 fact that cremation was once practised, the remaining bones and ashes being buried. Relatives moved to a different locality to ease their grief; "they would get sick if they cried all the time." J.A. said the Chunut burned the house of a deceased person, whereas the Tachi merely moved away. M.G. denied any notions of life in the afterworld.

The following is from E.W. Gifford's notes on Tachi moieties.

At a funeral three women from each moiety, six in all, attended to making the funeral pyre, or nowadays to digging the grave. They were appointed by the respective moiety chiefs. These women were called onotim. According to
[838] my informants, berdaches (lokowitnono) had no established functions at funerals. Kroeber states the contrary for Yokuts in general.[76] His information being the older and positive is probably more reliable. Moreover, with a scarcity of berdaches women would no doubt function as substitutes.

The ceremonial functions of the toño ´c·m (corpse-handler) at the time of a Tachi's death are given in some detail by Kroeber.[77]

765 The Tachi had a more elaborate ceremony,
764 known as tonochim hatim, "Tonochim's dance," on the occasion of the first gathering after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called yakeyaknan, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

At burial, the dead person was admonished not to return.

You go to another land
You like that land
You do not live here.[78]

Kroeber also states:

764 The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned everyone of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they did not bury the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena

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[76] Handbook, 497.

[77] Ibid., 500.

[78] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 375, and Handbook, 509.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 316]

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tip: ʻkn:ts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on
756 Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (koʻlłat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called anaʻčwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

[P. 46 b] Paleuyami

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´watsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Cowi´yat, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One 285 woman, named Insi´´an (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

767 Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the 838 latter transvestites, tono´čim) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other- 764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wili´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is T:p: 'kn:ts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took
767 place, the buriers had a special dance (to'onči'ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonoč:m,
767 but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] [437] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

[P.1066] Wukchumni.

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The [767] bereaved persons wept and wailed until interment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tono č:m) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not [482] more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonoč:m) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

764 767 All Wukchumni informants stated that it was the women tonočim who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Wakachi doctor, wai'is, who was cremated [766] by his two wives, Mawo'kono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečiku'do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočim were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 286] The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočim by means of tumpline and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočim said, "I have carried you, čoinemniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Tapni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočim and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the 767 mourners washed the tonočim and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočim were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[247] The native word, tonočim, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

[P. 110 b] Wukchumni.

787 776 825 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija hajɨt) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu'du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 778 All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal. [764] [237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ɨ:pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and [753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono·č·m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana·tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en·t·m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
EP. 156 9] Dumna

805 Calendar.---Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.---B.W. was in-
192 terested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]
821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); mɛ´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yɛla (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nɛs (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yɛš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lɛl (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lɛk (water).

Directions were particularized as follows:
192 ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nɛn homoti
823 (to go south); to´xɛl (west; toward the plains); toxɛl tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxɛl pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tɛl (directly down, also downhill); tanɛn atɛl (to go down); atɛl tunulao (down hillwards); ţi´pɛn (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ţipɛn wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mɛt (to run); witi´nɛt (to fall down); haswɛ´nɛt (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.---The life span B.W. divided as
192 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal
561 boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´lɛt (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswɛ´nɛt (dead person).

764 Burial.---When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40]Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41]Dunnell, 122.

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was [624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a 764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ič). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a [285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponik. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lit, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (paˊčki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

756 Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
[562] members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

756 At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
● 764 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die. Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
551 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a
422 hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku'mič (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ič was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [764] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipit, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipit fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

[764]

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its form and appearance: N.W. contended that it was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

276 323 324

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe šokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.---Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 278 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] 171 [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Tumana and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

[P. 196 b] Chuckchansi

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing further could be done to save him, his attend-
764 ants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[157] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177 the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
178] established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old crema-tion place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] p. 383.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 197 a] Chuckchansi

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 753 775 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 302 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

[P. 203 9] Chukchansi

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

[534 533] The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 344 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

622 796 When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

791 [787] animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

[764] Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she thought.) 791 Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water, 789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 752 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

756 galial and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
764 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were
821 buried at once without delay. Anyone who grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

[P. 2367] Western Mono NS25

W Y 561 192

moa ʾbi huʾuʾpi naʾnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ʾbi ti ʾkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
huʾuʾpi ʾtuʾamoge: young woman having borne children
moa ʾbi naʾnanyaʾp: man forty to sixty years old
moa ʾbi nanaʾpiʾep: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ʾbi moaʾbhʾlaʾp: old man
moa ʾbi hubeʾčiʾep: old woman

W Y 763 W Y 764

Death

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (luʾkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (aʾči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation.---The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769]

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192]

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tuʾlăuʾ mai (burn person, cremation); lukuʾlăuʾ mai (bury person, interment); mai taoʾiʾči (person dead); puču̇ʾn taoʾiʾči (man dead); mutiʾhoi taoʾiʾči (woman dead).

W Y 764 767

Burial.---According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šoʾnoluč (tawaʾtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 237 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 764

Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

W Y 783

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers.

W Y 767

All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonoč·m, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539

Afterworld.---A dead person's spirit is called tawa·tsan i·n·l (Michahai), tso·ape o·haba·wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia·a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tib· kn·č).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

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[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 244 a] Univ. Calif. Pub. N°. 25

W Y 613 825 saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W Y 778 The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W Y 756 The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha'g:) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

Y [237] There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u'dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

W Y 764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

W Y 756 683 The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W Y 765 683 A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village (near the present site of Yokohl). B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska.

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives.

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre.

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage.

[171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering

[293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat-

[532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets,

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"The Indians of this country finding their food where they lived were not nomadic. They were not disposed to range, and seemed unaccustomed to intrude upon the ground which usage probably made the possession of other tribes.

"Their huts were easily built and permanent; the climate was fine, they lived mostly in the open air, and when they died they were not put in the ground but up in the branches of the trees. The climate is such that a dead animal left on the ground simply dries up and only the eye gives knowledge of its presence.

"The springs and streams hereabout were waters of the *Chauchiles* and Mariposas Rivers and the Indians of this village belonged to the Chauchiles tribe.

"On some of the higher ridges were fields of a poppy which, fluttering and tremulous on its long thin stalk, suggest the idea of a butterfly settling on a flower, and gives to this flower its name of *Mariposas*—butterflies—and the flower extends its name to the stream.

"The encounter I had here with the Indians was a premonitory symptom of the contests I afterward had with the State and Federal governments when the place became my property.

"We were only sixteen men. Keeping in the oak belt on the course I was pursuing would bring us farther among these villages, and I would surely have lost the cattle and perhaps some men and horses in attacks from these Indians. In the morning therefore I turned down one of the streams and quickly gained but a little distance on this course when an Indian was discovered riding at speed towards the plain, where the upper San Joaquin reaches the valley.

"Maxwell was ahead and not far from the Indian when he came into sight and knowing at once that his object was to bring Indians from the river to intercept us, rode for him. The Indian was well mounted but Maxwell better. With Godey and two of the Delawares I followed. It was open ground over rolling hills and we were all in sight of each other, but before we could reach them a duel was taking place between Maxwell and the Indian—both on foot, Maxwell with pistols, the Indian with arrows.

"They were only ten or twelve paces apart. I saw the Indian fall as we rode up. I would have taken him prisoner

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They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama*, was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut*, an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.—Ann'ys]

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in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail.

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets.

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed.

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated.

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THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer. While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts rain doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rainmaker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose drying crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

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834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
494

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civilization", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aboriginal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,